



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the hands of one species of property concentrates in the hands of a few the rights of the nation, and dispossesses through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government that constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this constitution."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE ALTERNATIVE:
A Separate Nationality, or the Affricanization of
the South.

Extracts from a pamphlet printed at New Orleans,

entitled as above:—

A sectional party, inimical to our institutions, and

to our people, is about taking possession of

the Government. The question is, at length

Abolitionists have yielded a luxurious harvest.

When Lincoln is in place, Garrison will be in power.

The Constitution, either openly violated or enu-

merated, is the sole cohesive element of the tri-

umphant faction. It did not receive the countenance

of a single vote in any one of the ten great cotton

States of the South. The question is, at length

sharply presented: submission or secession. The

alternative left us is this: a separate nationality,

or the Affricanization of the South.

He has not analyzed this subject aright, nor probed

it to the bottom, who supposes that the real quar-

rel between the North and South is about the Ter-

ritories. The decision of the Supreme Court, or even

the Constitution itself, and that, consequently, the

issues may be stayed and the dangers arrested by the

drawing of new lines, and the signing of new com-

pacts. The division is broader, and deeper, and

more irreconcilable. The true secret of it lies

in the total reversion of public opinion which has oc-

curred in both sections of the country in the last

quarter of a century on the subject of slavery.

It has not been more than twenty-five years since

Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston,

with a rope around his neck, for uttering Abolition-

sentiments; and not thirty years since, the abolition

of slavery was seriously debated in the Legislature

of Virginia. Now, on the contrary, the radical

opinions of Sumner, Emerson and Parker, and the

association schemes of John Brown, are applauded

in England, Italy, and the whole Southern mind, with

an unparalleled unanimity, regards the invitation of

slavery as righteous and just, ordained of God, and

to be perpetuated by man. We do not propose to

analyze the causes of this remarkable revolution,

which will constitute one of the strangest chapters

of history. The fact is unquestionable.

The pro-slavery sentiment is of recent develop-

ment. It is more recent than any of the great in-

ventions which have created the distinctive forms of

our modern civilization. It is more recent than any

of the great revolutions of thought which have re-

volved mankind. The great and good fathers of

our Republic unquestionably entertained anti-slavery

sentiments or predilections, and the flippant Abolition-

ists think he has silenced us forever by quoting

the opinions of Washington and Jefferson and Mad-

ison. Nothing is farther from the truth. The senti-

ment of our fathers was not a mere relic of the

French Revolution, the mad frenzy of which

spread convulsion, the fanatics of the North may yet

repeat in the Western hemisphere. * * *

In opposition to the prevailing sentiment of the

North, there are certain elements of opinion which

are not only alive, but are growing more and more

vigorous. They are born unequal in physical and

mental endowments, and no possible circumstances

could ever raise the negro race to any

equality with the whites. Man is born de-

pendent, and the very first step in civilization is

to subjugate another. A state of slavery

is a fact of nature, and no man can deny it. It

has been developed beyond the savage condition.

These who cannot be reduced to bondage, like the

American Indian, perish in their isolated and defiant

behavior. Freedom is the last result, the crowning

glory of the long and difficult evolution of human

society. Free nations have yet attained to this

standard. Those who say that the French, the Italians

or the Prussians are not yet fit for freedom, and

are still unable to appreciate the blessings of con-

stitutional liberty, would thrust the splendid privilege

of citizenship upon the semi-barbarous

negro? What folly, what madness!

Man has no "inalienable rights"—not even those

of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. * * *

We anticipate no terminus to the institution of

slavery.

The doctrine that there exists an irrepressible

conflict between free labor and slave labor is as

false as it is mischievous. Their true relation is one

of beautiful interchange and eternal harmony. * * *

The only irrepressible conflict is between pro-

slavery and anti-slavery opinion. Here, indeed, col-

lisions may be inconceivably disastrous, and the

struggle may be unequal, but the result will be

the triumph of the just. The Union, which has

been the theatre of the most glorious and heroic

struggles, will survive, and will be the more

glorious for the triumph of the just. The Union

will survive, and will be the more glorious for the

triumph of the just. The Union will survive, and

will be the more glorious for the triumph of the

just. The Union will survive, and will be the

more glorious for the triumph of the just. The

Union will survive, and will be the more

between us as to the fanaticism and tyranny of the

North, no difference as to the wrongs and injuries of

the South. Some of us would give the North a last

chance to abandon her false position, to make apolo-

gies and amend, and to secure us in the strongest

links imaginable, against not only the curricula-

ments, but the existence of the Republican party. * *

To the professed Abolitionists, that motley crew of

men who should be women, and of women who

should be men; who see in Fred Douglass a hero, and

in John Brown a martyr; whose venom is propor-

tioned to their ignorance, as some animals are

said to be fercest in the dark; and who are ready to

perpetrate the blackest crimes in the name of lib-

erty, and under the garb of virtue, we have nothing

to say.

The Republican party itself, the best and worst of

its, we charge with having betrayed our feelings, vi-

olated our rights, and initiated a policy, which, if car-

ried out, will be destructive of our liberties. It is

not an election, but a usurpation, and if we acquiesce,

we are not citizens, but subjects. The forms of con-

stitutional liberty may have been observed, but the

spirit of tyrannical dictation has been the prevailing

genius of the day. Suppose the people of the North

were to repeal their obnoxious laws, to confirm and

aid by the decision of the Supreme Court, to di-

vide the Territories in an equitable manner, and to

recognize the equality as well as the Union of the

States, what would the Republican party be? Dis-

separated into thin air, dissolved like an empty

pagoda, not leaving a trace behind. With the

For what concern
to us when
Garrison permitted
to do
the evidence.
to do either this
or of age, and speak
will point out the
to which he
the dark.
Mr. Haven says:
to the measure
that in the Lib-
the prayer and they
and inviolable
is vague, nothing
to the "Liberator"
a more faithful
compromising re-
the fact, than our
played fast-and-
the demands of
hitting standard)
on the path of
on the ground
impediment in this
to call for explicit

REVIVAL OF PRO-SLAVERY MOBOCRACY.

The cowardly and lawless interruption of the Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston on the 3d ultimo, under the leadership of Mr. Richard S. Fay and Mr. J. Murray, has since been imitated at Buffalo, Rochester, and other places. From an account of the rowdyism at the Convention held at Buffalo, see our last page, as given by the *Commercial Advertiser* of that city, given in a manner to encourage the rioters, rather than otherwise. How utterly lost to all self-respect, to all sense of decency, to every manly feeling, must such invaders of a lawful assembly, convened for the holiest purposes of a lawful assembly, be! Such shameless villany is only one of the innumerable plagues to which the accused slave system has given birth; but, thank God, it is as impotent as it is despicable. The result of it will be to strengthen and advance the cause it was intended to put down. This is certain.

A glorious achievement, truly, for an organized body of following, brutal, brazen-faced ruffians to howl down one man and two women, attempting to plead the cause of "all such as are appointed to destruction" is that portion of our land which is "full of the habits of cruelty," and thoroughly demonized in spirit! And who were the parties thus put down? Rev. Richard Green, formerly Professor at Hudson College, and subsequently President of the Oneida Institute—a man of the rarest culture and the most scholarly attainments; one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, a great heroic soul, a world-embracing philanthropist, full of the milk of human kindness; genial, persuasive, courteous, large-hearted, and without spot or blemish.—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of the late highly respected Judge Cady, and wife of the Hon. Henry B. Stanton—among the foremost women of the age in intellectual power, moral elevation of the age, breadth of reformatory purpose, and nobility of character.—Miss Susan B. Anthony, who is honorably known to tens of thousands in the Empire State for her efficient public labors in the cause of education, temperance, the rights of her sex, as well as the anti-slavery cause; intelligent, self-sacrificing, and thoroughly devoted.

One other speaker, who joined this little party at Rochester, Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, needs only to be named to indicate every thing pure, upright, benevolent, loving and lovable—one in whom all the fruits of the Spirit, enumerated by the Apostle, are seen in the richest profusion.

And it is such as these who are branded as fanatical and mad, while their vile and rowdy assailants stand forth unblushingly as the representatives of all that is pure and noble, and the champions of "law and order."

There is no disposition to bring them to justice by force in any quarter. For the state of universal demoralization prevailing, society is turned upside down, and "he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

THE STRUGGLE WITH SLAVERY.

Extract of a private letter from a prominent and highly esteemed member of the Republican party in Maine to a friend in this city:—

"I have often been impelled, during these exciting times, to write you a few words touching the progress of the great cause in which our feelings are so much interested. The secession of South Carolina, and the strong probability that the confirmed and determined slave States will follow her, is a new phase in the progress of the great struggle with slavery. I have, for years, foreseen this result, and have not withheld my anticipations in regard to it. It must take place now, or sometime soon. In spite of the timidity of many Republicans, and the utterly servile spirit of the Northern commercial classes, as indicated in the disgraceful Boston mob, the Philadelphia Union meeting, and the result of the late municipal elections, I believe and hope the catastrophe will occur now. True, there are a host of difficulties in the way of establishing a Southern confederacy—how they carry the truth, how to avoid paying revenue to the General Government, and to obtain out of an impoverished people, whose financial system is in confusion, a sufficient revenue to equip and maintain an army and navy—how to appease the jealousy of other slave States, and without a general Convention to agree upon a plan of action which will suit all their different views—all these seem formidable difficulties in the way of the consummation of success. But then the excitement is so great, and there is at the bottom of this great question such a world-wide difference, out of which hostile feelings constantly grow, that the chances of a compromise and settlement seem very small. The North seem weak enough to compromise again, but the South are so inflexible and unreasonable, so bent upon self-destruction, that it does not seem possible to conciliate them. So, with a separation of the confederacy, we enter upon a new epoch of our history.

Upon the slave and his fate, the effect of disunion seems at present disastrous. The separation cuts him off from Northern sympathy, and the influence of a humane and civilized government. If the South would submit to the Republican rule, I think slavery might disappear gradually and peacefully. But, shut up within a confederacy whose sole policy will be the security of slavery, I am afraid the slaveholders will be able to maintain their ill-gotten power for many years. That is, they might do so if their very inflexibility did not work their ruin. They will, however, reopen the foreign slave trade, and by the superior fruitfulness of the colored race, the white being reinforced by no foreign emigration, will at length create a powerful brute force of fierce hatred and resistance, which will, before many years, quench slavery in blood. It is a fearful future to contemplate; but did ever a guilty people so rush upon a terrible punishment, in spite of all the warnings of mankind?

True, it will be a signal deliverance. To have the horrid and filthy hoof of the Slave Power taken off our necks, and to stand up in the dignity and decency of honest men, will be no slight advantage. Aside from our guilty implication in slavery, no thoughtful person has failed to notice what a hindrance in the way of our progress, what a corrupter of our morals, what a fruitful source of individual and social degradation, the practice of slaveholding has been to us. I believe it will be for the disenfranchisement of the beginning of a career of advancement in every moral, social and material good.

My only fears are of a dastardly recession, and of an ignominious compromise. Every voice and pen must now come to the rescue, and each with a power self-multiplying, to stimulate, encourage, threaten and command. Blessings upon the Old Guard of Abolitionists! Let every soul be instant, every soldier on his watch-tower; and if treason to right and justice is done, let it not be for want of warning, and sharp and serious censure."

We regret that the letter of Mr. Pillsbury, last week, was marred by several typographical errors, which were overlooked in correcting proof. We have on file another letter from Mr. P.

We copy from the Northampton Free Press, an excellent and well-conducted paper, the letter from Mr. Burleigh in another column, giving an account of the outrages perpetrated in Westfield West Farms by a gang of "patriotic" rowdies, ending in the burning of the school-house as an offering to the demon spirit of slavery.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

The claims of this anniversary can hardly fail, at the present hour, to be recognized. Its funds are devoted, not to African colonization; not to political partisanship; not to theological and metaphysical polemics; not to the separate education or religious instruction of persons of color; not to the fomenting of sectional prejudice, civil war, or bloody insurrection; not to the relief or redemption of individuals.

These subscriptions have always been appropriated to the work of awakening the public conscience, enlarging the popular heart, and enlightening the national mind, that, by the practical application, through legitimate channels, of the acknowledged religious and political principles of this country, slavery might be abolished, and the whole land made happy and united: not through enforced emancipation, but by voluntary enfranchisement.

There is no longer any need of defining or describing the brutal system of slavery that, since 1789, has been demoralizing the country. A lifetime—under violence, loss, and continual annoyance—has been spent in doing that. The people know, now, that it is no distant, imaginary evil, but one that overshadows every life with danger and dishonor. While fulfilling even the simplest duty of humanity to any perishing fellow-creature who has taken refuge in the sanctuary of their own homes, their whole nature is outraged by the thought that he may be mercilessly seized as slave, from the very hearth. They cannot protect a hunted child from a fate worse than death, without the risk of being themselves broken down for life by fine and imprisonment.

Of course, the pious refusal of free Northern populations to obey such diabolical mockeries of Constitutions and laws, with the simultaneous determination of slaveholding ones at the South never to permit their amendment, necessitates revolution. And now, no qualified observer, surveying the country, can hesitate to acknowledge the great work already done by the American Anti-Slavery Society. It has enabled the Northern populations to meet the present crisis with calm and intelligent resolution; and if the American Anti-Slavery Society had been earlier sustained, to diffuse its deep human feelings, its true consciences and accurate knowledge, more extensively, the masses of the people would betimes have been so warmly and wisely devoted to this magnificent cause, that revolution would have been purely moral, and no disturbing crisis like the present could have occurred.

But the wrong a few just and generous persons have been unable to prevent, may still, by timely co-operation with them, be retrieved.

In the very nature of things as they exist, it will always rest with disinterested persons in private life to initiate every change for the better. Under its present cherished institutions, the country must always look beyond its Church and State dignitaries, its political and ecclesiastical servants, for the previous preparation indispensable to national progress; for how can a Governor, a Senator, a Judge, a minister of any denomination or religious society, take the lead? Every such public functionary is engaged by the people not to lead, but to serve; not to make creeds and constitutions, but to administer under them; not to make things what they should be, but to take them exactly as they are.

Hence the need of an auxiliary private, voluntary service, like that which for the last seven and twenty years the American Anti-Slavery Society has by this anniversary helped to fulfill. Its claims to popular support begin to be felt. The moral vanguard of the people, whether in a sovereign or a functionary capacity, begins to see the mistake of sending a noble official servant to reap where no generous voluntary service of good and thoughtful men has previously sown. Let all now unite to sustain such a service—the only possible condition of national growth or guaranty for continued national existence.

After having for a life-time done what we could in this behalf, have we not established its claim upon every thoughtful, just and noble soul? On all such we cordially and confidently rely for both moral support and pecuniary aid. Both will be afforded by the act of subscription to which we now invite.

We entreat our friends to remember that, however advantageous and indispensable the largest sums subscribed, none confer on us a higher obligation than the smaller one which the guest offers, regretting that it is the largest in his power.

In behalf of the Twenty-Seventh National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LIBERTY ACT.

NUMBER III.

It is admitted by nearly all persons in the free States, that slavery is intrinsically and fundamentally wrong, that it is a violation of justice and natural rights, at war with the laws of God and humanity, and that no government has a right to legalize it, and make it one of their civil institutions. But it has been claimed, that by reason of the *right of sovereignty*, the government has the right to exercise a jurisdiction over all subjects pertaining to the welfare of the people under its control, and that, by virtue of this right of sovereignty, it may legalize slavery into existence, and may maintain it by legal enactments when it is created. But, in my judgment, a great mistake is made, and a great fallacy uttered, when such a doctrine is advanced, and such an extensive application of the right of sovereignty is claimed. This right, like all other rights, is bounded by the principles of justice and equity, and cannot transcend them. No State under it has the right to legalize crime and wickedness, and to make it legal to commit murder, theft, piracy or slavery. No State has even the *political* right to do such a thing, certainly not the *moral* right. No State has the right to pass a law, allowing an act which is "malum in se,"—that is, in itself intrinsically wicked and criminal. It has undoubtedly the right to pass a law, allowing an individual to do, or prohibiting him from doing, an act which is or is not intrinsically wrong, as a crime, according as it is, or is not, allowed by the State. By "malum in se," is meant, an act which in itself is not criminal, but may become so by being prohibited by the State. To such acts, the *sovereign power* of the State extends, but beyond them. Slavery, then, being a crime, "malum in se," like murder, theft and piracy, cannot possibly be legalized by government, but must remain such, whether the government attempts to legalize it or not; and should be so considered and treated by every one.

If this position is a sound one,—and of this I have no doubt,—it follows necessarily, that no State in which slavery does not exist has any right to consider slavery a *legal institution* in any State where it does exist, but a crime there and everywhere. And such being the case, it has no right to bind itself by any constitutional provision to recognize it as a legal one, and to engage that a *fugitive slave* shall be returned to his master; for by so doing it becomes *particeps criminis* with the slave State itself.

To illustrate these views, and make the case a very clear one, I will suppose that, at the time the Union was formed, *piracy* was an authorized and legalized practice in the Southern States—that a large number of vessels were permitted by law to engage in this enterprise, and that the vessels and cargoes taken by these piratical expeditions were considered by the law of these States as the *legal property* of the captors, and were adjudged such by their legal tribunals. It is now proposed by them to form a union with the North; and doing this, they maintain that it is necessary that the North should recognize this right in them to engage in these piratical expeditions, and their right of property in the vessels and cargoes they should capture; and that any failure to do this would be tantamount to a refusal to recognize the *legal property* of the North, and be claimed by those from whom they were

captured, they should not be given up to them by the North, but to the pirates who had captured them; and that they should insist upon a provision in the National Constitution making such a stipulation. Would the North, I ask, feel justified in making such a stipulation; and if they did make it, would they feel bound to observe it? Would they feel justified in countenancing the doctrine that property obtained in this way should be considered and treated as property obtained in any other way, and given up, not to its real and bona fide owner, but to those who had no other claim to it than that founded upon *piracy*? I do not think they could be brought to consider it in this light, or to make such a constitutional stipulation; or, if they made it, that they would consider themselves bound to carry it into execution. I believe that the State would decide that it was a stipulation that they never had a right to make,—that it was a clear invasion of the rights and property of others, as founded in justice and the laws of all other countries of the civilized globe, except these *piratical* governments; and having so decided, they would proceed to declare this provision of the Constitution null and void, leaving in full operation all other parts of the Constitution, which were considered moral and just. And no judicial tribunal, National or State, would consider itself bound to enforce a law, made under such a constitutional provision, but would treat it as a dead letter, totally to be disregarded and contemned.

Now, the doctrine is maintained by those in favor of executing the laws made under the provision of the National Constitution relating to *fugitive slaves*, that *all provisions* of the Constitution, of whatever nature, must be recognized and enforced, without any regard to their justice or injustice, and that all States which have adopted this Constitution, and the individuals composing them, are bound to carry out these provisions, and can in no way be released from them. Now, we have put a case, putting to a test the soundness of this doctrine, and shown it to be clearly unsound, and that there may be cases where a provision of the Constitution would clearly not be binding; and by so doing, we have completely overthrown the whole ground upon which the binding force of the Fugitive Slave Laws rests, so far as it relates to those who believe in its gross injustice and criminality. For if one provision of the Constitution may be rendered invalid for such a cause, so may another be; and their whole doctrine is overthrown.

But to continue the parallel between *piracy* and slavery. I say that the views expressed above in relation to *piracy* apply equally well to *slavery*. This institution, here at the North, is viewed as criminal as *piracy*, and the property held under it as wrongful and unjustifiable; and even more so, as the one is the asserted right of property in the souls and bodies of our fellow-men, and the other in mere inanimate matter, as goods, wares and merchandise. And not only so, but that *slavery* is the actual result of the slave trade, which is now legally *piracy*, as it was always morally such, so that the only claim of the owner of a slave to a property in him is one founded on *piracy*, either directly, or through a remote ancestor of the existing slave. What such a right of property is worth is easily understood by those who can appreciate the source from which it proceeds, viz., *piracy*. Why, then, entertaining such opinions here at the North, have we any more right to recognize the right of property in slaves than in vessels captured by *piracy*? And why have we any more right to stipulate, by a constitutional provision, to return slaves to their masters, as their just property, instead of allowing them to own themselves, than to return vessels and cargoes captured by pirates to the latter, instead of their true owners? And why is the State or its citizens, or any tribunal, whether State or National, any more bound to carry this constitutional stipulation into effect, than such a stipulation in regard to *pirated property*? I must confess that, for myself, I do not see even so much reason, as the enormity of the crime in the case of slavery is so much greater.

There can be but one possible ground that furnishes even a specious justification of slavery, and that is, that the African race are not in fact human beings, but brutes, and therefore, like other brutes, are justly subjected to the dominion and control of the white race, who are, in fact, the only human beings. But no one, even the most inveterate slaveholder, will attempt to maintain such a ground as this. There are differences in intellectual capacity among the African race, as there are among the white race, and the highest order of the former stand higher in the scale of intellectual development than the lowest of the latter; so that if intellect is to be made the standard according to which men are to be made slaves, a large part of the white race should be reduced to slavery, as well as any portion of the African race. And not only so, upon the ground that the whole African race are naturally inferior to the whole white race, and therefore may be reduced to slavery, it would necessarily follow that there should be no free colored people, as there are at present, but all indiscriminately should be made slaves. And the fact that a large portion of the African race, even in the slaveholding States, are allowed to remain free, shows that even in these States, they have no confidence in this doctrine as a justification of slavery, and do not act upon it. In fact, there is no ground upon which slavery can stand but that of gross and unmitigated wrong. Its only title is that of *piracy*, and that committed upon a human being; and it is equally criminal with other *piracy*, and much more so.

I hold, therefore, that the National Government has no right in any way to recognize the institution of slavery as legally existing in any territory under the jurisdiction and control of the National Government; for they have no authority given to them by the Constitution, from which they derive all their authority, for this purpose, but that they are bound both by the letter and spirit of this instrument to abolish it wherever it exists in the National Territory, and in the District of Columbia, and by a law of Congress forbid that it should ever be introduced into any of the Territories of the United States; and that no compromise should be accepted by the free States with a view of reconciling the slave States, let the consequences be what they may, which should recognize the legal existence of slavery in any way whatever within the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the National Government. If the Union cannot be saved but by a sacrifice of justice and right, and the enslavement of the colored race, let it fall! My maxim is this, as in all other cases, is—"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum."

W. S. A.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL AND ANNIVERSARY. We trust it will only be necessary to remind the friends of our cause, that the Annual Subscription-Festival will be held on Wednesday evening next, at Music Hall, to insure a large and brilliant assembly, ready to testify their abiding interest and unwearied zeal in behalf of the grand movement of the age, by contributing to the widow's mite, or donations on the largest scale. For particulars, see advertisement in another column; and do not fail to read the admirable statement of the case from the pen of Mr. Chapman.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will commence in the Tremont Temple, on Thursday morning next, at half-past 10 o'clock. Its members and friends in the various country towns will, it is hoped, be strongly represented.

SENT IN THE PETITIONS. The petitions for putting an effectual end to slave-hunting in Massachusetts should be immediately forwarded for presentation to the Legislature. They can be sent either to the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, or to the Representatives of the various towns from which they emanate. Those who have not yet put their signatures to them should do so with all alacrity. Before God, and by the law of eternal justice, what moral difference is there between the act of kidnapping on the coast of Africa, and committing to the re-capture of the panting fugitive on our own soil?

MOBOCRACY AT WESTFIELD WEST FARMS.

In last Saturday's Springfield *Republican*, I read that "Charles C. Burleigh, a rabid Abolitionist, delivered a political address at a school-house in West Farms, Westfield, Thursday evening, and uttered sentiments so offensive that a mob gathered and broke up the meeting, and celebrated their triumph by making a bonfire of the school-house and its contents."

This statement gives the mob more credit—not much, at that, it is true—than they deserve, for it implies that their riotous demonstration was provoked by something "offensive" which they heard in the address. The truth is, they did not want to know whether its "sentiments" would be "offensive" or not; but began the disturbance before a word of it was uttered, and even before the speaker had reached the place of meeting. It was enough for them that he was "an Abolitionist," [they filled the blank with a different epithet from the *Republican's*], and that the appointment had been made by "a [quibbled repeated] Black Republican." Between these two pestiferous classes of persons, they evidently saw no appreciable difference; for their malice was distributed between them with entire impartiality, as well as the utmost liberality. If you think your readers would care to see a correct account of the affair, the following is at your disposal.

On Wednesday evening last, I went to Westfield West Farms, to meet an appointment, which, at my request, had been made for me there. Having repeatedly, within the last two or three years, had a quiet and attentive hearing there, I went, anticipating nothing else at this time. But, on reaching the school-house, at the appointed hour, I found a scene of unexpected confusion, and soon saw evidence of a purpose to make disturbance. The house was nearly full—some were sitting, some standing—there was a buzz of voices—the stove had been thickly sprinkled with some substance like pepper, which, in burning, gave out a pungent odor, annoying to all in the house. Most of the company had come to hear the address; a few here or six, I think—to prevent its being heard. The well-disposed had opened a window to correct the air, but could keep it open only by taking the sash entirely out.

The chief floor, whose name I was told was Tyler, and whose face bore, in Nature's plain hand-writing, a certificate of his fitness for the work he was about, sat at the teacher's desk, no doubt to prevent my standing there; and with him sat an old man, of countenance now prepossessing, puffing tobacco-smoke from the stump of a pipe blackened by much use. I passed in, and, not at first suspecting the purpose of their sitting there, laid on the desk a bundle of books and roll of portraits, and had hardly more than turned to take a survey of the room, when both were violently hurled against the stove, and fell to the floor. I took them up, and held them in my hands during the remainder of my stay in the house.

The head of the riotous gang now began to vociferate that no lecture should be allowed there, protesting, with sundry expletives more emphatic than elegant or reverent, that we had no right to use the house for such purpose. Others replied and remonstrated; voices grew high, oaths were frequent, and fists were shaken. Seeing the impossibility of making myself heard to any advantage, I stood a silent spectator of the tumult for a few minutes, then accepted the invitation of the occupant of a dwelling-house near by, to go and give my lecture in that. As I began to move to the door, a small specimen of a man met me, rudely seized my arm, gave me a push more spiteful than forcible, and said something about tar and feathers. I walked on as if he had not been in the way, and nearly all present went with me to the friendly neighbor's house, where we had an undisturbed and pleasant meeting.

At the close of my discourse—as I had no engagement for the next evening—I proposed to speak again somewhere in that region, and, being promptly invited to do so at the same house, made an appointment accordingly. But the next day, some who were indignant at what they considered a violation of their right to hear peacefully in their school-house, resolved to try again to assert that right. They got permission of the District Committee man to use the house, and announced that the meeting would be there. [I learned in the morning, what I did not know before, that permission had not been asked for the first evening, because, as I was told, it had been customary to use the house for meetings without that formality, and no objection was anticipated, as none had ever before been made.]

When we met the second evening, no disturbers were at first present, and it was said that the mob-leader had declared that he should not molest us. But either the report or his declaration proved false, for I had spoken hardly more than fifteen minutes when he appeared, and standing in the door, with his gang behind him, began a clamorous interruption. Some would try to prevail on him to be quiet, and to let me do my work, but he only grew more noisy, till several of the young men, provoked beyond measure of self-restraint, (some "Democrats" among them, not liking perhaps that the reputation of their party should be compromised by the bully's conduct,) rushed upon him to put him out. A scene of wild confusion followed; struggling and pushing and blows, swearing and threats and defiance, making altogether a tumult in which it was, of course, useless to try to proceed with my address, and I stood looking on in silence. In the strife, one rioter seized some of my books which were spread on the desk before me, and hurled them furiously at his antagonists; but my friends gathered them up, and returned them to me. While the battle raged, one of the mob snatched the loose legs of the stove from under it on one side, and overturned it, pouring the fire out upon the floor, and filling the room with smoke. My friends speedily replaced it, and, as they supposed, gathered up and put back all the books. It having become manifest that the rioters were *not* coming to prevent my being heard, I again declared to leave the house, and repair to the kind neighbor's (the invitation being renewed,) where we met the evening before. I had packed my books and put on my coat for this purpose, when a new phase of the affair appeared. It seems that, doubtful of their success in this way, the mob had planned another—had sent to Westfield for a lawyer who was also a Justice of the Peace, and a police officer, and that these dignitaries had been in the house during a part of the time of the struggle just described; the man of "a little brief authority," the magistrate-lawyer, had made out a warrant to arrest me on a charge of assault, using as complainant the fellow who had assaulted me the evening before. The poor fellow's notions of personal identity had, it seems, become so confused in the tumult that, mistaking me for himself, and himself for me, he swore to a complaint against me for his own act upon me. The officer came to me, warrant in hand, but, instead of making the arrest, told me that the movers of the prosecution would withdraw it, if I would leave the school-house. I replied, in substance, that if he wished to give me a motive for going, he was too late, as I had already resolved to go for another reason, the impossibility of making myself heard there; if he wished to hasten my going, he was too soon, for now I must stop awhile longer, to inquire into this new phase of the case, and that I was curious to see the man who had sworn to such a ridiculously false accusation. The man was called out, and stood forward, not—I thought—with the greatest alacrity or a air of the utmost confidence, and I subjected him to a brief cross-questioning which he evidently did not enjoy; although, of course, to his instigators and backers about him, he still stood to his lie, and they echoed it. But he soon slunk back among the crowd. Having given his associates a concise expression of my estimate of the whole affair, and then invited all who wished to hear me further to follow me to the neighboring dwelling-house again, I led the way thither. Some followed; some stayed to speak their minds also to the rioters. On reaching the house, I found the evening so far spent that I concluded not to resume my discourse, and after passing

half an hour or so in social converse, we dispersed. When I passed the school-house, with the friends who made me their guest for the night, the company had gone, and all was still and dark. Two or three hours later, the voices of my host and his family roused me from sleep, and, looking out, I saw the school-house on fire, and evidently too far gone for any chance of saving it. Probably at the overturning of the stove, a few coals had fallen unperceived through the floor, and from them the fire had kindled; though, as I heard next morning, there were suspicions that, after the people had gone home, some of the rioters returned, and purposely set the house on fire. Be that as it may, one thing is certain, that, in one way or the other, the school-house was made a whole burnt-offering to the demon-demon whose worship is the suppression of free speech for freedom. And what could be in better keeping? If thought is to be stifled and utterance choked, in order that slavery may go unrebuked, what is the need or use of school-houses? Why should not ignorance go with barbarism?

C. C. BURLEIGH.

Florence, 1st mo. 8th, 1861.

CORRECTION AND ANNOUNCEMENT.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

In your last issue, you announce that the *Dial* is to be discontinued. Please correct this as soon as you can. The *Dial* is changed from a Monthly to a Quarterly Magazine, but counts yet on a long battle for the liberty of Man. It hopes to give good papers, during the year, from Emerson, Curtis, Thoreau, Sanborn, Howells, Furness, Joel and Myron Benton, and O. B. Frothingham. It claims to be the freest magazine in America; and if it dies, 'twill be of telling the truth to despots of mind and body. From all who care to the extent of two hundred cents whether such an organ is "voted up or voted down," I shall hope to hear.

Yours for good drainage, whatever frog-ponds be broken up.

M. D. CONWAY.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on

WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 23d of January,

in Music Hall, Boston.

As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say that *ALL who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obtain special invitations* (without which no party is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and of the Ladies at their respective homes.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
LOUISA LORING,
LYNETTA CHILD,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
CAROLINE WESTON,
MARY WILLEY,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,
SUSAN C. CABOT,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,
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LYDIA D. PARKER,
ELIZA F. EDDY,
SARAH P. REMOND,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
EVELINA A. SMITH,
ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
AUGUSTA G. KING,
ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,
ELIZA AFTHORP,
MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,
ANNE LANGDON ALGER,
MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in country towns, with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums,—to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. Now, as the very time for the most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most devoted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence, nor an individual whose heart is in union with ours on this subject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South, as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the painful remembrance of having once been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception;—at all events, to receive their subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the arrangements for the evening reception, to welcome and receive the subscriptions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversation in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and awlays in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in the ante-room.

Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting at the door.

The guests who have not already received special invitations, will find them at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street.

NEW SERIES OF TRACTS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE

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